OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF BOOKS
MADRAS

VOL. 2
NO. 3

NEWSMAN

MONTHLY JOURNAL OF THE MADRAS REPORTERS' GUILD

IN THIS ISSUE

For Better Coverage of Big Events

A Plea for Vigour

Unity in Diversity

History and You

and other interesting features

December 1959

25 Naye Paise

CONTENTS

	PAGE
If your eyes and ears deceive you.......	*1*
The Substitute Dramatic Critic	*2*
Unity in Diversity —" Orion "	*3*
For better Coverage of big events —Carroll Kilpatric	*4*
History And You —" Innocent "	*5*
Legal Protection of news messages	*7*
Freedom of the Press	*8*
A Plea for Vigour —" Quintillion "	*13*
Co-operative Dailies for Madras	*15*
Yugoslav Press Party's Plea —T. R. Ranganathan	*16*

The Guild does not hold itself responsible for opinions and statements advanced in the articles published herein.

EDITORIAL BOARD

R. Narasimhan; C. Rajagopalan; N. Ramachandran; V. Ramakrishna Iyer; P. Parthasarathy; R. Muthuswami; R. K. K. Menon; M. Namasivayam; R. V. S. Mani; B. S. Padmanabhan; G. N. Srinivasan; P. K. Gupta.

NEWSMAN

MONTHLY JOURNAL OF THE MADRAS REPORTERS' GUILD

Volume II — NOVEMBER—DECEMBER 1959 — Number 3

If your eyes and ears deceive you.......

We publish on page 2 an extract from *The New York Times Weekly* reporting the summary dismissal of two American newsmen recently on the ground that they had made an untrue allegation against some persons in authority connected with the working of a municipal scheme in New York.

A notable feature of the Press in Western countries is that they specialise in stories exposing the misdeeds of prominent persons or various rackets that flourish in cities and towns. Compared to the amount of such activity on the part of newspaper reporters, special correspondents and the like in those countries, we may confess straight away that we do not have much of that sort in India. This, however, may be due to the strict laws of libel which following the British example, we have in this country.

A reporter or correspondent occupies –or must occupy in due course–a high place in the life of the country. Whatever he says must automatically be accepted as the literal truth by the readers of the paper on which he works. This is highly necessary–otherwise, no newspaper can be carried on at all.

Just take a concrete case. A reporter comes and gives a story of say a big conference being disturbed by unruly elements, and gives a colourful account. The sub-editor edits the copy with zest and gives effective headlines and plays it up. The man in charge at the desk does his share sometimes by giving a poster heading, and the result is the readers get a sensational story. Does anyone who is concerned in any of the process described above pause to consider the truth or otherwise of the story? Where is the time at all in an office where every second counts, especially as zero-hour approaches for the edition to come out. Naturally, those in charge, the News Editor or the Chief Reporter or, may be, the Editor himself, put their trust in the veracity of the reporter or correspondent concerned. It is second nature with them to rely almost sub-consciously on his judgement. If trouble crops out of the report, they never hesitate to back him up, even against big men. The result of it all has been that the readers get their money's worth when they buy their favourite paper, and the paper too maintains its reputation for good and effective reporting.

The people depend on the veracity and objectivity of the reporter for a true and faithful account of everything that is happening around them. If he stoops to untruth, he will be guilty of betraying the people's trust in him.

So, this pre-supposes one thing: a reporter must be absolutely truthful. He must deal only with the truth, the truth and nothing else the whole time, as they say in the Courts, though as a craftsman with words, he may wrap it up all in literary finery.

A reading of the extract concerned will show that the two concerned pressmen have had some years of distinguished reporting, and that they had also won some journalistic awards in past years for exceptionally good work. But, all that has been nullified by just this one lapse while on the air during a TV programme. The result is they are thrown out on their ears by their paper. But, and this has to be realised, there cannot even be one single lapse-in a deliberate manner, as seems to have been the case in the above instance.

Even in India, we have the yellow press, though fortunately the extent of it is not much. One recalls a Tamil weekly in the '40's which used to specialise in allegations against cinema stars and prominent persons. Many people tended to believe it was all gospel truth, in spite of the fact that the man who was running it had served a lengthy prison sentence. During his control of the paper, he was also prosecuted for obscene publication and fined, but still he carried on for quite some months until one day he was murdered. Even after his death, a few misguided persons used to have belief in his writings. Was it not said of Nazi propaganda: The bigger the lie, he greater the belief.

In more recent times, there were and are some few journals even in this part of the country, but police

144215

prosecutions have circumscribed their activities.

In this democratic age, the printed word is regarded as truth by the man in the street. So, it behoves one and all who have anything to do with what appears in the columns of a newspaper to see that there is a firm foundation of truth for all their writings.

If they stoop to untruth, they will be guilty of betraying the people's trust in them. Naturally, most responsibility attaches to the reporter who is the father of the particular news story which appears in the issue of the paper.

Before closing, we are anixous to make it clear that the American Press has been ever characterised by high standards. Indian Newsmen, who some years ago had the privilege of working in American News Agencies like the AP, know the exacting requirements which had to be met before a story was finally issued for general release to subscribers. It is only their abiding regard for truth that has made them ferret out the untruth in the above instance and mete out quick punishment. If the reporter-be it in the West or the East-ever fails in this exacting test, then woe betide the readers. The people in the county, from the Prime Minister downwards, to the poorest of the poor, depend on his veracity for getting accurate versions of the things that happen daily. As has been said: If the salt loseth its flavour wherewith shall it be salted?

The Substitute Dramatic Critic for the Guardian

A little known fact about Bernard Shaw, which he himself surprisingly had never brought to the notice of the public eye, has been revealed by The Guardian. It concerns Shaw's entry into journalism in 1887, as a "substitute" dramatic critic for the "Manchester Guardian."

It was William Archer, long since been credited as the man responsible for introducing Shaw to book criticism, art criticism and playwriting, who helped Shaw to become also a dramatic critic.

Writing in The Guardian, Dan H. Laurence says that Archer was already an established and influential figure in journalism when he and the yet undiscovered Shaw first met. In fact, so many assignments came his way that he was hard pressed to meet all his commitments and, seeing in Shaw not just an impecunious fellow creature in need of charity but a young man of immense potential as a literary critic and journalist, the generous Archer used his influence with editors to substitute Shaw's talents for his own.

Before long, the two young men became an inseparable duo in theatrical and literary circles. Archer, as critic for the Guardian, received press seats for first nights, and Shaw almost invariably was his companion on these occasions. When an indisposition or a lecture engagement in the provinces necessitated Archer's absence, he came to depend upon Shaw to attend the first night and take over his duties. At the end of a performance Shaw, with no office available to him, would stroll through the damp London streets composing his review, then write it standing under a corner street lamp or leaning against the Embankment, after which he would walk to the Guardian office and file his copy–in Archer's name. Since the reviews were published unsigned, no deception was played upon the reader, and Shaw enjoyed an opportunity to reciprocate for some of Archer,s many favours.

From 1897 to 1891, Shaw covered performances (as his unpublished diaries and correspondence with Janet Achurch show), as substitute critic for the Guardian.

REPORTER RECANTS

For nearly four years Fred J. Cook, 48, and Eugene Gleason, 32, were a reporter-writer team for The New York World-Telegram and Sun. Mr. Gleason. who joined the newspaper's staff in 1956, won the Page One Award of the Newspaper Guild of New York in 1958 for his revelations that Transit Authority police had tapped the telephones of a union office. Mr. Cook, a member of the staff for sixteen years, won the Page One Award in 1959 for a magazine article, "The F. B. I." which appeared in The Nation. The joint Cook-Gleason by-line has appeared frequently over articles on alleged shortcomings in the city administration.

A particular target has been the Mayor's Committee on Slum Clearance, headed by Robert Moses, and its activities under Title I of the National Housing Act of 1949, which provides for joint Federal-city financing of slum clearance. A section on the city's Title I activities was included in a jointly authored article that took up the entire Oct. 31 issue of The Nation magazine, entitled, "The Shame of New York."

As a consequence of that article, the two reporters were invited to appear on the WNTA-TV program "Open End" last Sunday. During the program Cook said that in 1956, early in their investigation of the slum clearance program, Gleason had told him of a bribe attempt by "a high city official," in the form of an offer to put their wives on the payroll for $75 or $100 a week if they would "stop looking" into housing.

District Attorney Frank S. Hogan called the two men in for questioning in the presence of representatives of the newspaper. Mr. Gleason recanted the whole story. In explanation of his story he said, "I was exuberant and was carried away." He added that Cook "could not be held responsible."

Tuesday the World Telegram and Sun announced that both men had been dismissed. Each was told that the admittedly false charge had "destroyed your usefulness on this newspaper."— *New York Times Weekly.*

NOTICE

We regret that we were unable to fulfil orders for copies of our annual number this year, as we ran short of supply. More copies are now being printed, and we hope to supply orders for future issues of THE NEWSMAN.

Editor,
THE NEWSMAN.

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

By **"ORION"**

Looking through the other man's glasses (rather eyes!) the author presents to you these "revealing" pictures of the men in the Editorial Hall, who together constitute the brain of a newspaper. In spite of their "conflicting" emotions, "antagonistic" feelings and "inimical" disposition towards one another, these men remarkably pull together, displaying superb team-spirit. That is the magic of journalism! Now, he takes you along into this citadel of the Fourth Estate and introduces them to you.

Reporters: You see the guys crowding in the corner room, presenting a cross-section of the country's dressing styles. They are avidly perusing the contemporary newspapers for possible misses or for comparative study of reports. Extremely contentious is the reporter's role. Some feel he is just a walking tape-recorder but with ability to himself transcribe the notes into report form. Others, doughty champions of reporting, maintain he should never be such a slave to the phonetic art but do impression, interpretative and investigative reporting.

Most of the reporters are scowling and look outraged. That is because the subs have perpetrated cold-blooded murder on their proud overnight creation. Their antagonism towards the subs poses an immortal problem of human relationship. The frowning reporter thinks of the special correspondents at the capital of the country and abroad with jealousy, just because they are beyond the mischief of the chief reporter and the subs! Of course, the reporter would very much like to become a sub. as this would afford a swift end to his woes, but he cannot reconcile himself to losing the conveyance allowance!

Chief Reporter: You see that grave-looking gentleman at the head of the table in the reporting section, busily jotting down on a bulky notebook before him. He is the distributor of assignments to reporters. He feels he is the Atlas of the newspaper, shouldering all the burden of the paper. He vicariously experiences the thrills and the throes of the day's news gathering labour.

The chief reporter is grief-stricken because he knows that the reporters do not go knocking about for news. "......fellows without any initiative, drive and the worst of it, any sense of responsibility. You see, one has to keep on prodding them, browbeating them or at least nagging them.."—this is his sermon! His latest grouse is that the stupid Wage Committee had equated him with the chief sub.

Sub-Editors: That man turning sheets of news copy with a supercilious air is the sub. He has the greatest contempt for reporters; he thinks they are just duffers, if not a set of lotus-eaters and rapacious unpaid guests at dinner and tea parties. He would, however, not like to exchange his quiet desk for the reporter's beat!

Every copy to be printed passes through the sub.'s hands—good, bad and indifferent stuff. He has to prune them all into decent and nice stories for the consumption of the discerning reader. Day in and day out, his red pencil moves on with the ruthlessness associated with that colour, mauling, mutilating and sometimes mending copies and annihilitating every vestige of originality (if any, he remarks) contained in them.

Of course, there are some of his tribe, who with a magic wand touch copies and remarkably brighten them. But they are few and far between and seldom allowed to thrive. Typical is the sub who will remorselessly condense (if the Poet's copy were to pass through his hands, God forbid!) "Half a league, half a league, half a league, onward" into the cryptic "one and a half leagues onward"!

Chief Sub-Editor: You see that careworn chap who keeps on hurriedly scanning miles and miles of teleprinter rolls. Day after day he unsuccessfully attempts to push as many local items as possible into the paper. His grouse is he is the nocturnal news editor taking on-the-spot decisions often of far-reaching importance but without the corresponding monetary recognition.

News Editor: The puzzled-looking person over there, with a sheaf of galley proofs in one hand and a bunch of reports from correspondents at home and abroad in the other, is the News Editor. He is scowling because he, as the presiding officer of the editorial hall, has to deal with requests for favour of publication as also demands for correction of reports. He is space architect, contents designer and policy diviner, rolled into one. He firmly believes performances all-round could be positively bettered.

Editor: That gentlemen who occupies one of the few comfortable rooms in the office. Anonymous-looking, he is the embodiment of public opinion. He is supposed to crusade against evil and injustice wherever they occur, with the pen which is "mightier than the sword". His studious look masks the impotent rage seething in his breast, because the policy he is destined to shape is often ready-made for him.

The astute politician jibes at him: "Whatever be his independence within, he is the champion, watchdog and what not of freedom of the press outside the four walls of his office. He

Contd. on page 11

Organised Pooling Arrangements And Voluntary Self-Policing By Press Are Essential

Though Khrushchev's U. S. visit was one of most thoroughly covered stories in history, practical difficulties of reporting the trip became so great as to defeat the very purpose of a free press. Over 300 accredited reporters and cameramen, supplemented by a horde of local newsmen at every stop, battled not only against one another, but also against language barriers, inexperienced press officials and inadequate facilities, to tell the world about the Khruschev visit.

By
CARROLL KILPATRIC
"WASHINGTON POST"

"It's high time to admit, I'm afraid, that in terms of coverage of big events such as the Khrushchev visit, that cherished democratic freedom which we Americans pay such ardent lip service to, freedom of the press, has become a hollow mockery,', Edward P. Morgan told his listeners on the American Broadcasting Network when the Khrushchev visit to the United States was only a few days old.

That was the conclusion at the end of the visit of many correspondents who battled one another and a host of cameramen, television and radio technicians, language barriers, inexperienced press officials and inadequate facilities to tell the world about the Khrushchev visit.

But there were others who saw the forest somewhat differently after they had recovered their balance and looked back for a moment on an incredible, fantastic experience. They were ready to concede that the difficulties seemed to be insurmountable. Yet out of it all came a coherent story—one of the most throughly covered stories in history. There were exaggerations, intemperate conclusions and much reporting of trivia. But the public got a pretty clear picture of the Soviet leader.

"There were so many newsmen reporting his trip that they changed the course of events," James Reston wrote in *The New York Times*. "They are not the obscure witnesses of history, but the principal characters in the drama, whose very presence is so ubiquitous that most of the time Mr. Khrushchev is addressing them, or addressing others with them in mind...

"All this, mind you, gives Mr. Khrushchev no pain. He is less interested in seeing America than in having the world see him in America, and for this purpose the reporters, photographers, technicians and all their gear are not only useful but indispensable."

The remarkable thing is that both sides seemed to be content with the overall results. The Premier could not but have been happy over the way he dominated the press, radio and television throughout his tour. The larger papers printed many columns of Khrushchev copy every day. His every move, every grimace, every word went out over the airways and into the newspapers. Never again should he complain that his utterances are ignored in the West.

At the same time, the American people, who some fearful souls had said would be corrupted by the Khrushchev propaganda, watched the road show with interest, curiosity—and enlightenment. The coverage may have contained unmatured conclusions and other faults of hasty writing, but the important fact is that the image came through.

Soul-searching needed

It is true, as both Reston and Morgn suggested, that the press must do some soul-searching to find a better way of doing its job. There is little doubt but that the television viewer at times was impressed by the bad manners of the shoving, pushing reporters and camera-men. With 300 accredited reporters and cameramen, supplemented by a horde of local newsmen at every stop, the reporter's task at times became almost immposible. He could not get near the subject without the facilities of a battering ram and little concern for his own safety.

The State Department said it had no recourse but to accredit any legitimate newsman who wanted to cover the big event. The news media were jealous in safeguarding their rights to send as many men as they wished.

Morgan said that the sooner the press recognized the problem and took realistic steps to correct the situation the better for all concerned, "because the alternative is a more concentrated dose of bureaucratic spoonfeeding of information than we have already.

"This is going to call for some kind of voluntary limiting of demands for coverage of events such as this Khrushchev journey."

But the press neither in America nor perhaps elsewhere in the free World is organized to do this self-policing. It does not want the Government to do it, yet no one in the press yet has come up with a reasonable solution to a problem that does immediately require attention. The proliferation of gadgets in the mass information field will force consideration of more orderly procedures.

In addition to the American press, there were large numbers of foreign correspondents on the tour, including about 40 Soviet correspondents. Among them were Leonid F. Ilyichev, chief of the Communist party's Central Committee division of propaganda and agitation, Pavel A. Satyukov, editor of *Pravda*, the party organ, and

Cont. on page 13

HISTORY AND YOU

By "INNOCENT"

[The study of history is today much neglected, but it is nevertheless one of the most important things that man needs to know. Knowledge of the past is always a very useful possession, for history, as has been said, has a tendency to repeat itself. And when a new problem confronts a nation, as for instance, danger from a foreign power, a knowledge of the past—and of things then done or left undone—can indeed be very helpful to us in arriving at the proper policy decisions and the positive action that we have to take in the present.]

Today, the study of history has fallen on evil days, and people simply have no regard for it. One sighs for the palmy days 30 or 40 years ago, when youngsters were eager to take up history at school and college. Today the craze is for science and technology. Alas, it is forgotten that man does not live by bread alone!

The hard-boiled reporter at this stage may snort, and ask: "So, what?" and in company with so many others-like educational authorities who have included the subject with a host of others, like geography, under the broad head, social studies, at school-he may impatiently ask, of what earthly use is history?

At first glimpse, it would appear to be the right attitude. The reporter, covering a conference, need know nothing of Akhnaten or of ancient Egypt, and the less ancient Greece and Rome. The woman reporter covering fashions has still less use for history.

Why is history then important to the reporter? The answer is because the newspaper of which he is an employee helps to a large extent in recording matter which is a source material for compiling contemporary history, and ultimately history itself. The time was when archaeologists dug up ancient sites, poured over inscriptions and studied the ruins of temples and places in order to piece together various missing links of a vanished civilization. But, today, thanks to the newspapers, contemporary events and happenings of men and places are recorded as fast as they occur in the columns of the newspapers. Of course, the press is not the only source material for the compilation of history, but it is a fairly important source.

If a historian of today wants to write about the Bengal Partition in the first decade of this century—and its aftermath, the great national awakening and struggle and the final repeal of that partition—a fairly good idea can be had by reading the back files of the great national dailies of the country relating to the period.

Let the reporter, the working journalist par excellence, consider for a moment, how fortunate he is that it is given to him to witness not unoften history actually being made. Let us take say a City Reporter, who has 20 years' experience in the profession. In that span of his life, he has seen unbelievable things happen-the mighty British empire shrinking, "the naked fakir", as he was jokingly called by the foreigner, helping the country achieve freedom, and incidentlly becoming the martyred Father of the nation—and freedom itself, most precious possession of a people.

Now, has not this reporter gone about his task during the dark days of 1942—following his avocation at great risk? Keeping an eye on the provisions of the Defence of India Rules, and circumventing the press censorship, he yet managed to give accounts of the arrests, the trials and the savage punishments meted out to patriots. Have not other reporters covered the beginning of big things—like for instance the jungle warfare technique of Wingate tried out (for wider use latter in the Army,) in the jungles of South India round about Gudalur in the Nilgiris near the Madras border with Mysore State? The reporter who covered this assignment, who had to wrap his report in the phraseology of the war days-insisted on by the Army Press advisers found that a prior knowledge, brief though it was about Wingate and the doings of his men in the Burma jungle behind the Japanese lines, was of great help in enabling him to comprehend and finally give a readable report to the readers of his paper.

One who saw the happenings in Bombay early in 1946 at the time of the Naval rising could understand clearly how the spirit of the people as a whole was growing antagonistic to the foreign yoke. The Castle Rock incident was an eye-opener to the British themselves, for they found that they no longer had the consent of the ruled. What happened was that after a couple of days, the British high-up's of the military could not trust Indian troops for patrol work, and had to draw upon the white personnel of the British Indian Army to do patrol work-and do other things like machine-gunning from Army lorries.

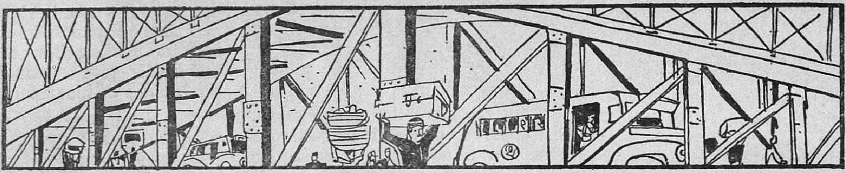
In the same City, in the latter part of the year, there came about the communal disturbances and various other things that followed in their wake, leading to the ultimate partition of the country. These things have been reported by the pressmen in Bombay. and these two things have passed into history.

In Madras City, one saw the vanishing of the trams from the City's streets. Now, background knowledge

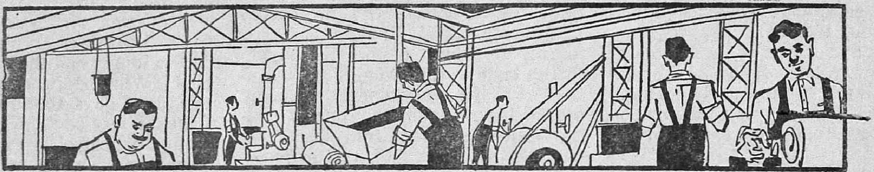
(Contd. on page 7)

TATA STEEL

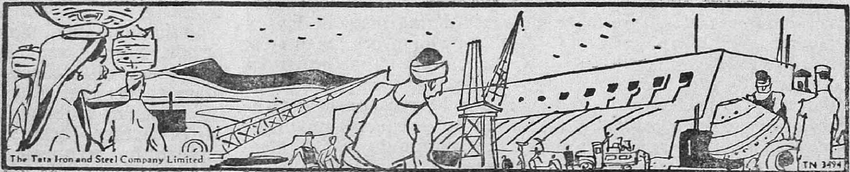
is serving



the nation



well



(*Contd. from Page 5*)

that reporters covering the event had to possess included the knowledge of steps being taken in England and other countries for the elimination of the trams and their replacement by buses.

Reporters in North India have consciously or unconsciously much background knowledge which is so necessary in covering communal riots—happily, almost a thing of the past in free India. Now, in those dark days one end of the street would be perfectly safe for a particular community, and woe betide a man new to the place, who had no background knowledge and who strayed uuknowingly to the other end of the street, for death or grievous injury at the hands of a communal fanatic might be his lot.

Reporters—especially, staff correspondents have to be very much on the alert these days when the Chinese are intruding into our borders, in the North. We left our passes and mountain tops and other barren places unguarded, it is pointed out by knowldgeable persons—and today, we face a difficult situation as a result.

To hark back six centuries, there was the case of Devagiri, the redoubtable fortress and stronghold of Rama Deva, the last great ruler of the Yadava dynasty. Rama Deva was near the end of a long and glorious reign in which he had been extolled by the saint Gyandev. He seemed to rule over a prosperous and invincible kingdom. Yet, within a few years of the death of Gyandev, Rama Deva was conquered by Alauddin Khilji. Why and how did this happen? Historians today have found out that Rama Deva—like his brother ruler at Warangal and various other rulers down South — had not cared to guard the approaches to his kingdom from the North. If the hills and forts had been guarded, Alauddin surely could not have penetrated South. Rama Deva was not warned by the history of the previous centuries relating to the invasions of India from the days of Mahomed Bin Kassim.

The press has a duty to have in its subconscious mind an idea of the events and things that happened in history in various parts of the world to draw the appropriate lessons from them, and warn or exhort the people as the case might be. For instance, they can examine how far various modern concepts like neutrality and outright plumping for peace can make for the good of the common man. They should remember that Gandhiji extolled the concept of non-violence-not of the weak but of the *brave and the strong*.

They should remember about what happened in the times of Asoka. His renunciation of war was the act of a mighty ruler of history, who had proved his strength and valour on the battlefields of Kalinga. Yet, his weak successors it was who suffered the effects of the policy of total peace, and within about forty or fifty years, they had given place to another dynasty. Much the same thing happened still earlier in the days of Akhnaten of Egypt, who shut himself up in his new capital at Aketaten and devoted himself to to the worship of the new God, Aten-the disc of the sun. Egypt,

(*Contd. on page 9*)

International Agreement for legal Protection of news messages

A draft project for what it is hoped will be an international agreement for the legal protection of news is now under examinaton by experts in inter–national law. It was drawn up as a result of a conference in Geneva in September held under the auspices of the Bureaux of the Paris Convention on Industrial Property and Berne Convention on the protection of literary rights.

Background to this move is the desire for such protection felt for many years by the major news agencies. The question was raised forcibly at a meeting in Brussels in 1952 of the news agencies, most of which were to create five years later the "Alliance Europeene des Agences de Press." The problem also had a prominent place at subsequent conferences in Rome and Geneva. Simultaneously UNESCO studied the same question. Its Secretariat produced in 1957 a report which held that this was not a question of copyright, but that the question should be solved by a special international convention on the protection of news or by the adaptation of regulations contained in article 10 b of the Paris Convention on Industrial Property,which prohibits disloyal competion.

The intergovernmental committee apointed by UNESCO to deal with copyright questions,would, however,not take any decision on the strength of the Secretariat's report, but asked Mr.M.W. Wallace of the Patent Office of Great Britain to make a special report on the question. His conclusion was that the introduction of news would counteract the efforts of the ECOSOC of the United Nations to make information as freely available as possible.

The Inter-Governmental Copyright Committtee aproved the Wallace report, and so did the Director of UNESCO. Last April it was also finally adopted by the ECOSOC. This means definitely that the protection of general news cannot be obtained through the inter–national agreement on the protection of literary and artistic rights—the Berne Convention.

But before the final vote of the ECOSOC, the Common Bureaux of the Berne and the Paris Conventions had already taken the problem up on the background of the Paris Convention. The idea was that the general regulation of article 10 of the Paris Convention might be applied as a basis for national legislation even for news. Later an intimate co-operation was established between the joint Bureaux of the two conventions and representatives of the West European news agencies (A.E.A.P.). When the question was brought up for discussion at A.E. A.P. meeting last June, both the head of the Bureaux Professor Secretan and the head of their legal department Dr. Ronga took part in the deliberations. They fully supported a resolution unanimously inviting the Bureaux to draft an international agreement for the protection of news messages.

This is the draft drawn up at the september meeting in Geneva. Among those organizations who participated in the work of the expert committee were UNESCO, Unidroit, the Council of Europe, the International League against disloyal competition, FIEJ, and the International Press Institute.

(I. P. I. Report)

JL
144215

If This Liberty Is Lost, Then No Other Liberty Is Secure

[If the newsmen in a country band themselves together to defend the integrity of the Press and refuse to sell themselves to the Government in power, that itself will act as a great restraint on the curtailment of the freedom of the Press.......

This is only one of the many suggestions to safeguard Press freedom, made at a Panel discussion during the Eighth General Assembly of the International Press Institute, held in Berlin from May 26 to 28. Over 200 editors from 29 countries attended the conference which coincided with the date of expiry of the "ultimatum" on Berlin given to the West by Khrushchev.

A subject of vital importance to the Press and the public alike, the discussion on it has elicited from eminent editors a frank appraisal of conditions in their own countries.]

Opening the panel on Freedom of the Press, Dr. Oscar Pollak, Arbeiter-Zeitung, Vienna, reminded members that this was beingheld "in the very front line in the face of the domain of unfreedom." He felt that he had been chosen to preside over this panel because he was an Austrian, and "we Austrians have perhaps had a little experience about matters like the freedom of the press in a similar situation to that of Berlin," and also perhaps, because he was the only person persent whom the Russians had demanded should be removed from his post. In any case he, "a modest journalist in a little country," had been proud to belong to the Institute which had been founded precisely to defend the freedom of the press.

Dr. Pollak thought that one of the most interesting sides of the problem was that nations who had recently acquired freedom against foreign domination were apt, having acquired it, "to overstep the limits in retaliation."

The first speaker on the panel, Morris Broughton, The Cape Argus, Capetown, told the members that he was making an appeal for sympathy and support in a situation which it was very difficult for most of them to understand. There was a Press Commission at present sitting in South Africa. "It was appointed in 1950. It has cost £67,000. So you can see that in South Africa we take the freedom of the press very, very seriously. There is only one original member of the staff of that commission still working for it. But it goes on investigating and trying to draw up its report and when that report comes out that is when we shall probably need your help. Not that we are afraid of the outcome, because on certain things there is unity."

South Africa, said Mr. Broughton, was a most divided country. They had no single overriding loyalty, no single language,no single church, no single view of what their future and destiny should be, no single view of the freedom of the press. The press of South Africa was divided into two great groups: the English-language press and the Afrikaans-language press. It was unfortunate that the division went so far that all the English-language press is on one side, and all the Arikaans-language press on another side, with one or two exemptions.

The Spider and the Fly

His own sympathy in a sense had been aroused from what he would call the opposition. The English-language press completely dominated in circulation, power, in advertising and in the width of country that it covers. On the whole it could be said that for years the Nationalists who now governed had no voice there. Today, it was fair to say that they get a fuller and fairer show. But at the same time the legislation rose and rose, as it were against the press. "We are free—but sometimes that freedom feels to an editor rather like a fly caught in a spider's web and struggling to get out of it."

They had in South Africa, said Mr. Broughton, about ten acts, all affecting freedom in one form or another. The Public Safety Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Riotous' Assemblies Act, and so on. All these could be used in an emergency to close down newspapers, to establish a censorship. None of them has yet been invoked, and they hoped that it never would, but the power was there. A process of of "suffocation" was going on. The Minister of the Interior, for instance, had recently announced that he would not answer any questions except in Parliament, which meant that any reporter would have to get an M. P. to ask a question—and they knew how long it took to get that sort of thing done! It was not meant as a contravention of the freedom of the press, but in effect it was so.

In addition to that, people below that level, Boards, Councils, Provincia

(Contd. on page 10)

(*Contd. from page 7*)

which had under earlier rulers risen to be the leading nation of the then known world, sank to a new low during the days of unalloyed peace under Akhnaten. While the provincial governors lamented in their reports to Pharaoh how the people in Syria and elsewhere were revolting, Akhnaten kept quiet and would not heed their warnings, and finally near the end of his rule, rebellion flared forth. The Hittites rose to power in Asia Minor, and the Cities of Syria threw off the Egyptian yoke.

A few years ago, Mr. N. Raghavan, then Ambassador to China, interviewed by a representative of THE HINDU, stressed the importance of India having proper diplomatic representation in the various countries of the world.

People may cavil at this and say that this would be very costly, and also that a poor country like India could not afford such a costly luxury. Some indeed did so in those days when our freedom was still a new thing.

To explain, a properly constituted diplomatic corps is the eyes and ears of the country to which it belongs-a window on the world so to say. It keeps the parent country informed of trends and happenings in the country to which it is accredited, which will have an important part in shaping the foreign policy of the mother country.

The Arthashastra 22 Centuries ago emphasized the importance of having a good espionage system. In the days of Chandragupta such a service was there, but later under a policy of wholsale peace, it must have slackened, and the great dynasty of the Mauryas was deposed within about 40 to 50 years of the death of Asoka.

A point to remember is the excellent use of the spy spstem made use of by the Mongols who were in the middle ages a terror to the countries of Asia and even to parts of Europe like Russia and countries nearby. Under Genghiz Khan, surnamed "the Scourge of God", and his successors, the Mongol hordes swept across the steppes of Asia to China in the East and Egypt in the West. Historians tell us that Mongol spies were to be found in various parts of the world upto as far afield as Italy even, while on the other hand the European countries of he day were practically ignorant of what was happening in the interior of Asia. They did not make even a trial by sending their agents eastwards into the countries of Asia. The result was the Mongols chose the opportune time and attacked various countries and swept everything before them with their ruthless, fast moving, incomparable cavalry.

Good secret service-a must

The point is a good secret service, as it is called in modern parlance is a *must* for every country in the world. Such a service, if it is efficient, will have helped the Government of India aided by a knowledgeable and competent diplomatic service, to understand for example things happening in Tibet, the frontier areas of China and in China itself. It must not be forgotten that the British power in India had a fine secret service functioning in the North-West of India and in the Himalayan and trans-Himalayan regions and in Tibet also.

A knowledge of history tells us that the Chinese have always tended to regard the people of other countries with disdain. While China was great she regarded them as "barbarians", and even when she was weak and under the influence of foreigners, she called them, "foreign devils".

Our Prime Minister who is a historion himself scored when he said the other day that China never really gives up any of her Territorial claims.

A history-conscious people and Government will always be prepared for any eventuality, and will also avail themselves of the lessons of history in taking up constructive activities, like planning for national prosperity. The examples of Russia and the U. S. in this field have been taken note of by the great statesmen and planners of our country and this has resulted in the drawing up of our Five Year Plans.

Events of the past, mirrored in history, have to be taken note of by the press-the reporters, and correspondents, sub-editors and other top-ranking leaders of the Journalistic world-along with many others in national life. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance, and that vigilance is promoted and kept alive by a knowledge of history. To conclude, a total neglect of history is a dangerous thing to all sections of the people, amongst whom are included the press reporters and correspondents.

White House Press Association

Whenever President Eisenhower leaves White House to deliver an address—or to make a flying visit to another country—he is accompanied or preceded by a hard-working corps of newsmen.

The Press plane usually takes off before the President departs. Therefore the crowd waiting to welcome him at his destination will include the reporters who cover his official daily activities at the White House.

Eleven newspapermen assigned to the White house in 1914 organised the White House Correspondents' Association for those "who are directly responsible for handling the news and events of the White House"

The organisation has now grown to 900 members, one hundred of whom are women. Its eligibility has been extended to all those who are engaged exclusively in editorial work in Washington. In co-operation with the secret service, it issues press credentials.

The Association's principal social activity is its annual dinner in honour of the President of the United States. All the Presidents, since Woodrow Wilson have attended these dinners.

President of the White House Correspondents' Association is Garnett Horner of the Washington *Evening Star*.

On December 3 President Eisenhower gave a reception at the White House for 78 members of the Press and other news media accompanying him on his 11-nation tour.

While tea was served in the State dining room, the President moved among his guests, talking eagerly about the trip.

Officials said it was the first time since he became President that Mr. Eisenhower had entertained a formal Press reception in the White House. Earlier this year he did invite several Washington correspondents to a series of private dinner parties.

(Contd, from page 8)

Administrations, were also refusing more and more to give news to the press.

As an illustration of this problem, Mr. Broughton cited the Children's Protection Act, and related acts, and Criminal Amendment Act, under the terms of which no case of extortion or of immorality and so forth could be reported without the consent of the complainant. Other cases could not be reported without the written consent of the judge or magistrate. The position arose that the reporter in the court had to go to the judge and ask permission to see the complainant, and since the average complainant does not want publicity, the judge usually would not bother, or the magistrate would not sign a certificate. So they had case after case that they simply could not report. There was no attack on the freedom of the press but the legislation had the effect again of smothering freedom to report.

The English language press, said Mr. Broughton, was free to comment as strongly and as firmly as they wished, short of freedom to incitement to riot or anything of that kind.

Mr. Broughton recalled that in South Africa, in addition to 3½ million whites they had 10 million natives, best described as Africans. They had almost no voice. They were excluded from what was called white civilization. The problem of how to speak for them was a grave and serious one, and one that an institution such as IPI would do well to discuss. The Africans could not afford their own newspapers. So his papers tried to give them what voice they could.

As time went on, concluded Mr. Broughton, they would probably hear more and more of South Africa's difficulties. And he wanted them to know that they arose not simply out of a South African situation but out of an African, even a world, situation. There had arisen in the hearts of the African people, the dream that society could be organized without poverty. They stood, as it were, on a mountain ridge between two worlds, one dying, one struggling to be born. At times the mist came down and they could not see the way ahead. They hoped that with the help of institutions like the IPI they would be able to strengthen the voice they could now give to the African people as they went on with their struggle

Infringement of Press freedom: I.P.I. Protests to South African Govt.

The International Press Institute has protested to the South African Government against infringements of Press freedom in South Africa, according to a Reuter message from Zurich dated November 25.

According to the massage the international Press Institute had said that it had received a most unsatisfactory reply to reperesentations made to the South African Prime Minister against measures taken recently against two Journalists.

Mr. Fonald Michael Segal, Editor of the liberal quarterly Magazine, *Africa South*, it may be recalled, was deprived of his passport and prohibited under the suppression of communism Act from attending any gathering in south Africa for the next five years.

The other Journalist, Mr. Henry Barzilay, British Freelance Television news correspondent for the American National Broadcasting company was expelled from the Union.

On October 24, the I.P.I. sent a protest against the South African Government's action asking that both Journalists should be given opportunity of a trial so that they could defend themselves.

In a reply the Secretary of the South African Prime Minister said the Government decided on such matters on the basis of adequate information at its disposal and cannot allow outside influence to intervene in what is clearly a matter of domestic concern.

There was a recognition by English-. speaking and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans alike that the freedom of the press lay at the very heart of all liberties, that unless men could communicate their ideas and thoughts freely. there was no real freedom. But Mr. Broughton added: "On the whole our outlook is very optimistic and I think the government itself is gradually beginning to see from the criticism that comes from outside that it is true that if this liberty is lost then no other liberty is secure."

The Problem in Asia

A serious political crisis in Ceylon had compelled C.E.L. Wickremesinghe, Dinamina, Colombo to return there from Europe before the Berlin Assembly, and his paper was read for him by Jose Bautista, The Manila Times.

Mr. Wickremesinghe explained that every major crisis in Ceylon at the present juncture had inherent in it dangers to the freedom of the press, which was why he had felt his personal presence there was necessary.

In a brief review of the problem of press freedom in Asia as a whole, Mr. Wickremesinghe said that at the present time Asian societies were passing through political transformations which resulted in varying degrees of curtailment of the traditional democratic freedoms, including the freedom of the press as that freedom had been traditionally understood. For various causes democracy had been finding it difficult to survive in underdeveloped countries. What he felt was more important was a) the practical problem of what concrete action newspapers of a country could take to prevent any curtailment of the traditional freedoms of the press, and b) the problem of how the press could continue to perform its duties to its readers whenever such a curtailment of press freedom took place. These were the basic and urgent problems facing many of the Asian newspapers.

Generalizing from his own practical experience in Ceylon and from observations of the experience of newspapers of other countries facing similar problems, Mr. Wickremesinghe suggested that the first objective of a newspaper was to seek to be able to perform its functions of a) reporting the news objectively and adequately, and b) retaining its freedom of comment. "I find that there is always a very powerful demand from the public to know the truth and also to know the newspaper's own assessment of the situation. No doubt governments in power do not like this and may try to

seek to prevent such objective reporting, but they have to contend with the hostility of the public to any action on their part.

"They have to contend also with the fact that were there such interference, the public would lose confidence in news which is officially released. All governments, whether dictatorships or democracies, have in the last resort to seek to retain the confidence of the people in their activities, and the deterrent to their interference in the freedom of the press is the fact that such interference would result in the public being pre-disposed towards a lack of confidence in their action."

There were two other factors which were a potential source of strength to the Press in under-developed countries, said Mr. Wickremesinghe. One was that in countries where democratic traditions and party politics had still not taken firm root, political issues were often decided by manoeuvring behind the scenes and by intrigues. Politicians in power would naturally wish to keep such news a secret, and the official channels of information—Government-controlled radio stations and Information Departments—would make no reference to them. One of the most useful services to democracy that the press in an under-developed country could render was to expose such deals and manœuvres. It was also one of the means by which the press could win the confidence and support of the public.

Filling the Vacuum

Another way in which the press could fill a vacuum in the democratic life of under-developed countries was by acting as a means of expression and of protection of interests which would otherwise be voiceless, in providing a forum for otherwise inarticulate groups.

Mr. Wickremesinghe agreed that in highly tense situations there were certain items of news whose publication in a direct form could have anti-social consequences, as for instance in time of war or in period of intense communal tension, when the publication of news that members of one community had murdered those of another could result in retaliatory murders elsewhere in the country. "In such situations a newspaper has to exercise its judgement—or, if newspapers could not have the situation left to their good sense. the next step might be to seek to set up some form of voluntary censorship as existed in the U. K. or U. S. A. during the war.

"It takes time to get these ideas accepted by a Government," said Mr. Wickremesinghe, "and therefore it is wise, wherever a newspaper fears the curtailment of the freedoms of the press in its country, to seek to educate public opinion to the need for newspapers to perform the essential functions indicated above. The recent Asian dicatorships are not completely totalitarian and hence there is sufficient room to ensure that the basic freedoms of the press are not seriously tampered with.

"In addition if newsmen from all papers in any country band themselves together to defend the integrity of the press, if they refuse to sell themselves to the government in power, their unity will be an additional factor acting as a restraint on the curtailment of the freedom of the press."

Factual Publicity

He also thought that adequate factual publicity by the world press of all cases of such curtailment of the freedom of the press in any country was also a deterrent to national governments.

In a brief closing comment on Mr. Wickremesinghe's speech, Mr. Bautista said that in his own country, the Philippines, there was freedom of the press, and some people said that their press was the freest in the world.

The third Panel speaker, Helmut Cron, Deutsche Zeitung, Stuttgart, explained that in Germany, Freedom of the Press was guaranteed by the constitution, but editors had to maintain considerable vigilance to make certain that the guaranteed liberties were not encroached upon. To do this, they had evolved a number of methods, which, he thought, might be of interest to other colleagues.

One method, and the most simple, was that the whole press spoke with a united voice in any cases in which they believed that a threat to press freedom existed. This method had proved highly successful in 1952, when there had been a proposal to introduce a press law in the Federal Republic. This press law had not been basically bad, said Mr. Cron, but it had been transformed in a direction completely

(Contd. on next page)

(*Continued from page 3*)

promptly protests against incursions into the Fourth Estate in which he is only a slave!..."

Proprietor-Editor: You saw that gentlemen who just now got down from the posh limousine and strutted to the electric lift in high spirits. He is the owner of a portion of the Fourth Estate. 'A man of vision, he runs the onerous and profitless newspaper business in the national interest. As such, due reverence should be shown to him as financial martyr." —dins his spokesman into the deaf ears of the Government.

Proofreaders: Look at those hungry-looking men herded into that distant room, safely tucked away from the editorial hall—they are the proof readers. They are the men who courageously battle against the "printer's devil" and not infrequently the author's imp too. Of course, they know no witchcraft or black magic to exorcise the devil but have the gumption to give endless battle to it. Recently their journalistic character has been questioned and they threaten to let loose the "devils" all over the Fourth Estate!

Attender: That gay-looking boy who is never caught in the swirl of the emotional currents in the editorial hall. He mopes around corners and evades the eye of the sub or reporter who urgently needs his services. He is a very important cog in the wheel of newspaper production and you just cannot imagine the office working without him. His essential qualification is imperviousness to the banging of calling bells, however loud and prolonged it might be.

Calling Bells: Considered to be an important part of the paraphernalia of the working journalist. Often bunches of them scream in chorus, but only in the wilderness. The rapidity and fierceness with which the sub. or reporter thumps on the bell betray his helplessness to meet the urgency of the situation.

Paper Weights: An essential part of the working journalist's accoutrement. But for an abundant supply of them holding sheets and scraps of paper in place, there will be chaos and deluge of paper in the office.

against the freedom of the press by the incorporation of a number of police regulations. On this occasion the press had succeeded in stultifying this draft. But the experiment showed that this method of united action by the press was not in itself adequate to deal with all undesirable measures of the State. For since Society had become weak and the State had become strong, the State nowdays had the tendency to ordain by laws and paragraph what Society ought to be—and what Press Freedom ought to be. This tendency went today through the whole modern democratic world. Therefore it was necessary that a free society should watch its own interests, and for this it must give itself the means which made this possible. One such means had been the German Press Council which had been founded in 1956.

Self-Control

Another measure had been the so-called Self-Control of the illustrated weeklies, said Mr. Cron.

In the past year the experience of both institutions had been particularly good in the matter of the "Lex Soraya" the project for a law which aimed at submitting the press to particularly hard conditions regarding the publication of news about the heads of foregin states. This law draft had been the result of representations made to the German Foreign Office concering the divorce of the Shah of Iran. An Inquiry by the press had revealed that such complaints were made from about one to three times a year. Now it had been agreed that such cases would be passed on to the Press Council for discussion and settlement with the respective parties concerned. In Such ways as this the growth of excesses of power by the authorities could be prevented by a free society's own measures of self-control.

Mr. Cron reviewed the long discussion there had been in Germany over the so-called "Law for the Defence of Personal Honor" which sought to put personal rights above those of the freedom of the press. This draft was likely to go before the cabinet without the wishes of the press being taken into consideration.

Finally Mr. Cron mentioned the "Study circle for Press Law and Press Freedom" which had been founded two years previously and which paid particular regard to Freedom of the Press. This circle was not composed primarily of press people, he said, but of University professors, judges and publishers, and it was a purely scientific body which concerned itself particularly with matters of press law. It had given material support to the arguments of the press in the debate on the law for the defence of personal honor. A further useful contribution had been made by the German Society of Publicists, which had been founded a year previously and which for the first time united representatives of the press, radio and film in one group.

All such means, concluded Mr. Cron while not in themselves providing complete solutions to all problems, helped the press considerably to preserve its independence wherever it might seem threatened.

Appeal for Singapore

As soon as the discussion was thrown open to members, the Assembly heard the appeal of Leslie Hoffman, Editor-in-chief-of *The Straits Times*, Singapore, who had flown specially to Berlin to deliver it.

Mr. Hoffman recalled the Vienna resolution of the IPI Assembly passed in May 1954, warning the authorities in all free countries against attempts to undermine the freedom of the press "since they would destroy the basis of their own existence, freedom and justice."

He said that a threat to the freedom of the press existed at that moment in Singapore. It was a very real one and he had come to the Assembly to place the facts before it because he felt that only the concerted and united action of the editors of the free world would remove that threat.

The threat had been made not by a government in power but by a political party which hoped in four days from then to form the first fully-elected government of Singapore under a new constitution. (As, in fact, it did) In that sense it was unique and it gave the Assembly the opportunity to stop once and for all an attempt by a party to get popular support and backing for its declared intention to curtail press freedom.

The People's Action Party of Singapore was the party in question and it had sought a mandate from the electorate of Singapore to curtail the liberty of the press. In the "now infamous words" of the secretary-general of the People's Action Party, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew:

"Any newspaper that tries to sour up or strain relations between the Federation and Singapore after May 30 will go in for subversion.

"Any editor, leader-writer, sub-editor, or reporter that goes along this line will be taken in under the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance. 'We shall put him in and keep him in.'"

That threat had been made, said Mr. Hoffman, in the context of an accusation that the *Straits Times* had sought to disrupt relations between the Federation of Malaya and Singapore.

After reviewing the situation in some detial, Mr. Hoffman declared that "not since the island was conquered in 1942 has the press of Singapore faced so grave a threat."

Charges made by Mr. Lee that the *Straits Times* was foregin-owned were, said Mr. Hoffman, quite unfounded.

Mr. Hoffman urged that the IPI should take steps to investigate the true intentions of the Peoples' Action Party towards the Press. He concluded :—

"On you rests the decision whether the press of Singapore will be allowed to carry on its task of bringing truth to the people of Singapore and Malaya with freedom and justice, or whether it will go blindfolded and handcuffed to the stake."

The Turkish Statement

Another striking intervention came from Ahmed Emin Yalman, who. as representative of the press of Turkey, told of hopes of a press amnesty in that country. In his statement Mr. Yalman said :-

As you all know there has been some restriction of the press freedom in Turkey since 1954, and the Press Institute has taken a very close interest in this situation. It has kept reporting about it and has on one occasion issued a protest. Well, in order to make the situation clear to you, I must tell you that the Turkish press co-operated from '45 to '50 with the Democratic Party, which is in power now in Turkey, against the Single Party.

(Contd· on page 15)

A PLEA FOR VIGOUR

By QUINTILLION

[Sweet reasonableness is no substitute for swashbuckling hit and the cautious, ca-canny lukewarm language of most newspapers today is nothing but a drug, says the author who himself wields a vigorous pen, though not of the "hatchet or vitriol" brand.

The Press which is today more emancipated, more polite and restrained, is more willing to wound than to strike. The result is a loss to the public good, which it exists to serve.]

The conception of "writing for the Press" has changed. In olden times it meant not merely writing editorials, which is its narrow meaning today, but also contributing to the other columns. Personal animus could be and was imported into reports, of, say, a flower show. The Press was actively regarded as an instrument of chastisement of the personal enemies of the editor or the proprietor. Mr Pott, the editor of the "Eatanswill Gazette", that excellent print, was, as we all know, a pure and disinterested patriot, whose one mission in life was the extirpation of Buffery (or was it the other colour) and all its works. But Dickens also drew Jefferson Brick, and Mark Twain has preserved for ever the bad bold days in the Far West when newspapermen wielded pens of hatchet or vitriol, depending on their subtlety. Mr Pott himself, of course, could and did excel himself, in vituperation, but everything that he wrote was in the sacred cause of the emancipation of Eatanswill. The others consulted only their passions and their resentments. These lent enormus force to their style. Whatever the demerits of their publications, it cannot be denied that they were really forceful and so attracted attention. There can be little doubt that in these famous caricatures Dickens and Mark Twain intended to satirise the brutality of some sections of the Press.

The Press today is more emancipated. The "yellow" paper may flourish, but it lives not on strong language, but merely on lies, or exaggerations of an infinitesimal part of truth, making a mountain out of a molehill. It is more polite and restrained. Some Acts, which are a disgrace to the statute book, do not favour outspokenness, and are ready, in fact, overwilling to visit severe punishment on anybody whom it takes to be a transgressor. Under these circumstances, the swashbuckling hit is today conspicuous by its absence. This problem has many facets, but it cannot be denied that the characteristic newspaper has become somewhat insipid.

'Avoid Lukewarmness'

It is obvious that there are many dangers in vigorous language. It may merely cloak vacuity of thought. Further, it is not possible to convince or persuade anybody by employing vehement words. These more often merely astonish or stupefy the reader. These are grave defects, but can it be denied that the cautious, ca-canny, lukewarm language in which most newspapers are written today has become a drug? High standards should undoubtedly be maintained, but it is significant that "The Times" whose rectitude is unimpeachable, was once called "The Thunderer." It thundered in what it felt to be very just causes, and these causes gained immeasurably for the fact of its doing so. It becomes clear that strong expressions when used in justifiable and worthy cases are more effective than any amount of "sweet reasonableness", Swift's apologue in the "Battle of the Books" notwithstanding. This is the age of the common man, and "sweetness and light" are known to make no great appeal to him. His attention is immediately captured by a vigorous phrase or idiom, and if the cause is just on whose behalf it is used, clearly morality and justice themselves gain. Persuasiveness through argument is only for the *intelligentsia*, and it is notorious that this group of persons necessarily forms only a small proportion of a newspaper's circulation.

'Be vigorous'

I am perfectly aware that this suggestion is open to misconstruction. It does not mean that argument and reasoning should be forsworn and vehemence and passion substituted. This is the very negation of sound and responsible journalism. But it does raise the question why, when the facts justify it, most of our Press is so inane and lukewarm. It should be realised that objurgation in a just cause can do much good. Mark Twain's editor was a violent and sanguinary fellow who merely exploited his position. But why cannot his more enlightened and public-spirited successors borrow from him some strength of his language? The Press is more willing to wound than to strike. It insinuates rather than affirms. The result is a loss to public good, which the Press exists to serve. The well-known daily which I have the honour of serving wrote over forty years ago in an editorial, "Either Mr. Tilak is a menace or he is not. If he is not, allow him free to mumble the sins of *mlechas*. If he is, break him by executive action". Would that we could recapture the spirit of those brave days! But, of course, the time is out of joint (in a purely professional sense.)

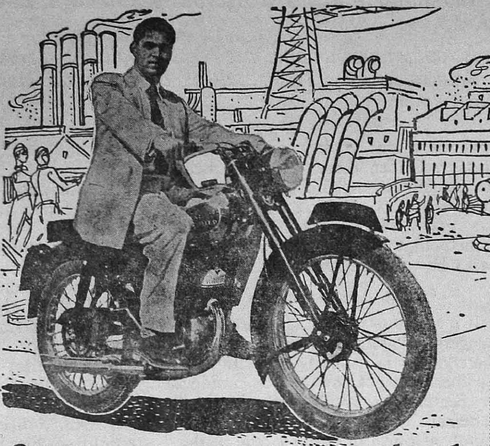
(Contd. from page 4)

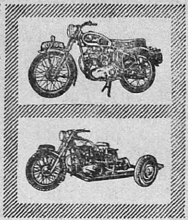
Aleksei I. Adzhubei, Khrushchev's son-in-law and editor of *Izvestia,* the government newspaper.

The Press of the Press

In a leading article on the Khrushchev visit, the *Christian Science Monitor* suggested that the practical difficulties of covering the trip "became so great as to cut the visit's value and defeat the very purpose of a free press."

The horde of reporters surrounding Mr. Khrushchev have so got in one another's way that few have heard or even seen him in crucial situations says the paper. It suggests that the remedy lies in organized pooling arrangements. —*I. P. I. Report*





Business moves on wheels

THAT'S why nearly 30% of Government of India's investments in the successive Five Year Plans are devoted to the development of nationwide transport.

The assembly and progressive manufacture of Royal Enfield motor cycles and three-wheelers fill a major gap in the transport needs of our economy. Motor cycles are an essential item of equipment of our Armed Forces. Police, Post & Telegraphs, and other Government Departments use motor cycles in increasing numbers. Motor cycle is the most economical form of automotive transport for our business executives, engineers, technicians, agriculturists, salesmen, insurance agents and others doing field work. who must go places to do their work efficiently and on time. For local deliveries in our steadily expanding cities and towns there's none so ideal as the Royal Enfield three wheelers for quick despatch of goods in easy, economical lots.

Planned and progressed in collaboration with the Enfield Cycle Company, Redditch, England and backed by the entrepreneurs with the experience of over a generation in the motor cycle and engineering lines in India, Enfield India factory and their business organisation are truly a model of achievement. Already expansion plans are in hand to increase the production capacity to serve the growing transport needs of our country.

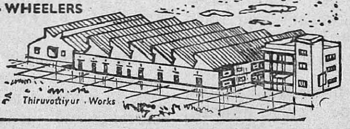
ROYAL ENFIELD

MOTOR CYCLES AND THREE-WHEELERS

Progressively manufactured by:

THE ENFIELD INDIA LIMITED

MADRAS-19.



AE 1851

(*Contd from page 12*)

From '50-'54 we were in a state of honeymoon and close co-operation with the Democratic Party. We had a permanent press conference at least once a month and the Government consulted us on important issues before any action was taken. It became a sort of permanent press council.

After the sweeping victory in '54, the Party took severe measures against the Opposition Party because it was so violent between '50 and '54. Unfortunately, the press was included in these measures. Although we did not take any concerted action among us, all the Turkish editors agreed that we could not accept these restrictions as legal and constitutional and we thought our duty was just to ignore them and to go on doing our duty.

Well, we had to take risks. There were threats of imprisonment. There were threats of curtailment of newsprint and there were threats against advertising. In spite of that, all the independent editors did their duty to the last.

We published all the critical articles appearing in the world's press about Turkey. They were against the text of the laws, but we did not mind that. We thought it was our duty to inform the Turkish public.

Many of us have had lawsuits started against us, and on the 14th May, we heard that the Party group of the Democratic Party would come together to discuss more severe measures which might include giving authority to their Cabinet to suspend papers for any period. We wrote that it was very unfortunate that this day should be chosen for the funeral of liberty in Turkey because the Democratic Party had won power from the Single Party on the 14th May, 1950, and we were awaiting with anxiety what would happen.

It was announced on the 14th May that there would be no meeting of the group and it would be deferred for a week. Then there were contacts between the press and the government and a sort of preliminary peace was concluded on very good terms. We shall have full freedom of criticism, according to these terms. There will be a revision of the existing laws, with the approval of the press. And there will be perfect freedom of newsprint and the newspaper proprietors will no more be responsible, except financially. for what may be judged libellous. And no limit for commercial advertising will be set.

In return, the press has accepted to be objective in its criticism, not aggressive, not to insult, but just to criticize. The Prime Minister, who was present at these negotiations, suggested that if we find reporting on the Opposition more interesting than reporting on the Government, we could devote to them 60 per cent, but he expected us to devote at least 40 per cent to the Government news.

Six leading papers have formed a group among us to act as the beginning of a press council. And already, the work has started in a very satisfactory way, and we hope that it will develop into a permanent press council and that we shall take care of ourselves, of our objectivity and that here will be no more need in Turkey, f the other side keeps its engagement, of any sort of repressive, aggressive measures.

The Press in Indonesia

A highly informative speech on the Press situation in Indonesia came from Rosihan Anwar, *Pedoman*, Djakarta, who suggested that in trying to assess the state of the press in Indonesia today, it was proper to bear in mind several facts. One was that Indonesia had been under Martial Law since April 1957. And also that there was a civil war going on. There was a stalemate and no way out was so far in sight.

The other factor was that Indonesia was a large country covering about 3000 islands extending about 5000 kilometers from West to East and nearly 2000 kilometers from North to South. There were poor communica-

Co-operative Dailies for Madras

Madras will soon have newspapers run on cooperative basis by the embloyees themselves. Two daily newspapers—one in English and the other in Tamil—and a Telugu weekly are to be brought out at the beginning of the New Year.

As readers know, working journalists press workers and administrative staff forged a united front to resist Goenka's onslaughts on the fundamental rights of employees; from this to a co-operative society has been only a short step.

Co-operative newspapers have been the dream of all persons interested in the healthy functioning of the Press in India. The Press Commission suggested this as an antidote to the prevalent domination of vested interests. Newspaper employees all over India have found the co-operative to be the only answer to the challenge given by monopolistic controls of the Press.

It is against this background that newspaper employees in U.P. formed a co-operative to bring out the Prayag Patrika.

And now in Madras newspaper employees have formed a co-operative known as the Madras Co-operative Printing and Publishing Society Ltd. The authorized capital of the Society is Rs. 2·5 lakhs. made up of 10,000 shares of Rs. 25 each, Employees will be primary members of the society; provision has been made to enrol sympathiser (non-employee) members subject to a maximum strength of 20 per cent of the employee membership.

The general body of the society met on Oct. 10 and elected seven directors. The Madras District Co-operative Central Bank which will give the necessary financial assistance will have two nominees on the Board. The Editors chosen for the two daily newspapers will be ex-officio members of the Board.

The seven directors who have been elected now are: Messrs. R. Narasimhan (President): C. N. Chitta Ranjan (Vice-President); O. Ramalingam; T. Vadivelu; M. Manavalan; Y. Natarajan; and S. Marimuthu.

Dr. P. Natesan, President of the Madras District Co-operative Central Bank, who was present at the first meeting of the general body, extended warm welcome to the new venture and said he was confident of its success. He promised all neceesary help from the Bank. Mr. Appandarajan, joint Registrar of Co-operative Societies, said this was a unique venture and its success would be a great step forward for the entire co-operative movement.

(The Working Journalist)

tion facilities between the islands, and the effective control of the Central Government still was largely in the realms of theory. "It is not surprising that in my country localism is rampant with all its peculiarities." Thus the press in Aurabaja in East Java which lay 500 kilometers from Djakarta was enjoying a far greater measure of freedom of the press than the press in the capital. Taken as a whole it could be said that actions taken against the press had diminished lately, especially so compared with the situation in 1958, in 1957 or in the fall of 1956, when the editor of the late *Indonesia Raya*, Mochtar Lubis, the chairman of the IPI National Committee, was arrested and detained—and he still was today after 2½ years.

"Over the years," said Mr. Anwar, "the Indonesian editors have learned not to touch specific subjects, for fear or, I would say, in order not to invoke retaliation against them. They are, in the order of their importance: 1) the President; 2) the Army; 3) certain aspects of the judiciary power."

However, Mr. Anwar believed there was still relatively a measure of freedom of the press in Indonesia. There was no pre-censorship. Editors were free to comment on international affairs, except perhaps for one fact—that the editor of the *Times of Indonesia* last December wrote a critical—or personal—remark about President Nasser of Egypt, and for that he had to pay in the form of a two day's suspension. Because allegedly, the Egyptian Ambassador thought the *Times'* editorial was not in concord with the Bandung spirit.

"Taboos"

On domestic affairs, Indonesian editors encountered specific taboos. "Then there is also still the case of Mochtar Lubis who is unable to attend this gathering and has asked me to send to you his best wishes and to tell you that he is in good spirits."

Editors in Indonesia, concluded Mr. Anwar, know what Freedom of the Press was, and had never given up hope that it would be fully restored again. They need the moral support of all who were gathered at that Assembly.

Otto Schoenherr, of the *Kleine Zeitung*, Graz, listed three factors which in Austria were still hampering the freedom of the press. These were 1) the fact that, under the existing laws for the defense of honor, almost anybody who considered themselves insulted by a newspaper could have the paper confiscated by the police, regardless of whether in fact such proceedings could be justified before a court of law; 2) the Contempt of Court rules which he considered gave excessive powers over the press to judges, and 3) the "Right of Reply," which enabled persons to force a paper to publish a statement, whether it was true or or not. He thought that these were matters which the IPI should consider.

"Subtle Pressures"

The suggestion that the IPI might pay further attention to certain internal pressures on the press came from E. A. Berg. *Suomen Tietotoimisto*, Helsinki. In particular he referred to "newspapers which live by defending a special trend of opinion or a group of people in power." There were subtle pressures from advertisers and others, he said, and he asked: "Where is there for instance the newspaper which would publicly dare to take the field against unreasonable claims placed by the printers' organization?" Newspapers, he said, were afraid to mention poisonous preservation methods for foodstuffs and harmful qualities of advertised articles of food. "You often cannot get away from the impression that the newspapers pay more regard to the advertisers than to the consumers." —*(I.P.I. Report)*

Yugoslav Press party pleads for posting Indian Pressmen at Belgrade

From T. R. RANGANATHAN

The recent visit of the Yugoslav Press Delegation to India, was helpful to turn the spot-light on one of the weak spots of the Indian Press, namely that not a single Indian newspaper or news agency had its full-time correspondent stationed in Yugoslavia which occupied a key position in European political scene.

The 36-year-old Dimche Belovski, leader of the delegation emphasised the importance of a reciprocal arrangement under which Indian correspondents could function from Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav pressmen from India. Such an arrangement in his view would not only help wider dissemination of news from both countries but also help the people of both countries to come closer.

Recently I met the members of the Yugoslav Press delegation at the Meenambakkam airport when they arrived from Bangalore on a brief visit to the City.

Mr. Belovski, Director of "Nova Makedonija" expressed his hope that some of the Indian newspapers would give thought to this suggestion and take early steps to station Indian Correspondents in Yugoslavia.

He informed that some Yugoslav newspapers had their own accredited correspondents in the Indian capital.

The leader, a charming and interesting person, had a good word to say about the functioning, organisation and efficiency of the Indian Press.

He said that between India and Yugoslavia they had many common ties and their approach to world problems was basically the same. Yugoslavia was in the heart of Europe and followed the neutral and nonalignment policy of India. With all these similarities the thing which struck him was that the Indian people did not get a fuller picture of the political, economic and social life of the people of Yugoslavia, for there was not a single Indian correspondent in his country.

Mr. Belovski said that if there were any difficulties in stationing Indian correspondents in Yugoslavia due to foreign exchange regulations, it could be overcome by having some mutual arrangements between newspapers in Yugoslavia and India regarding payments to their correspondents. For instance, the correspondent of an Yugoslav paper in India could be paid by an Indian paper and in turn, its correspondent in Yugoslavia could be paid by the Yugoslav paper.

The members of the delegation intend having discussions about this question with newspaper editors during their current tour of India.

144215

PRINTED BY C. G. KURUP FOR THE JANATHA PRESS, 66, BELLS ROAD, MADRAS 5.
EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY R. NARASIMHAN AND C. RAJAGOPALAN FOR THE
MADRAS REPORTERS' GUILD, GOVERNMENT ESTATE, MADRAS-2.